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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
EDITORIALS	109-111
Provoking Enmity and War — National Honor.	
EDITORIAL NOTES	112-117
Pan-American Congress — Launching of the Ohio — Church Leaders and War—Christian Pulpits — Not a School of Virtues — Dr. Amen.'s Conduct — Tolstoy's Punishment — Opium Traffic in China — Great Years of Peace — International Labor Bureau — The English Peace Society — War, Air and Water — British Barbarities.	
BREVITIES	117-118
GENERAL ARTICLES.	
Seventy-third Annual Business Meeting of the American Peace Society	118
Annual Report of the Directors of the American Peace Society	119-123
Correspondence	123
Plymouth Rock. *Poem, Elizabeth Sampson Hoyt*	123
The Curse of Militarism. *Herbert W. Horwill*	124
War, Missions and Christian Methods. *Mary S. Robinson*	125
Military Instruction in Schools. *George W. Hoss*	125-126
Christians Should be Passionate Advocates of Peace. *Rev. Charles E. Jefferson, D.D.*	126-127
Hail and Farewell! *Poem, John Adams*	127
The Universal Demonstration of Women for Peace. *May Wright Sewall*	127-128
NEW BOOKS	128

Provoking Enmity and War.

One of the most insidious of the evils of large armies and strong navies, or of small ones which are ambitious and growing, is that they tend directly to provoke international dislike and friction, and thus to bring on war. This is often denied, but without any show of reason. It is asserted with the utmost assurance that armaments are a means of peace, not a provocative of war; that strength — military strength — and peace go together. Other nations, it is asserted, will respect the "strong" nation, and be afraid to attack it. This is superficially a very plausible and taking sentiment.

The argument of history is, however, entirely against this view. Every nation that has made itself a strong military power has shown itself more or less insolent, has aroused other nations against it, and finally got involved in war. It is the strong nations that have fought, and filled the world with blood and terror. The purely self-defensive element in armaments has always in large vigorous nations been overborne by the warlike, aggressive elements. It would be so in the case of small nations, if they were not overshadowed by great powers.

Every modern European power has claimed that its armament was for self-defense alone, and therefore for purposes of peace. But everybody outside of each of these powers knows that this claim is false in the case of every one of them. Each of these great military powers, by reason of its threatening offensiveness, as well as because of the mere fact of its extensive arming, has aroused the fear, jealousy and hatred of the others, and Europe has been on the verge of a many-sided war for a quarter of a century. Fear and opportunistic political combinations have so far prevented actual hostilities, — except against weak peoples,— but everybody believes that, unless other influences prove strong enough to prevent it, war is certain to come sooner or later.

Besides the inevitable provocation of their mere existence, the principle reason why armaments tend directly to war, rather than to peace, is the wish of the men in charge of them to practice at their business, to see how the machine will work, and to promote their personal interests. It cannot be otherwise. These men must be reckoned a part of the armaments, just as much as the regiments, the Krupp guns and the steel-clad battleships. If the armaments themselves had no tendency to provoke hostility and to break peace, the leaders of them would do it. They do not want peace; they want fighting, and promotion, and glory. They talk of peace while war is in their hearts.

Count von Waldersee has given us a recent illustration of one of the ways in which this principle works. His conduct has shown that he did not mean to come back from China without something to show for his position as commander-in-chief. He meant to have some fighting, whether there was any need of it or not. His punitive expeditions have for the most part had no other ground than this, except perhaps that of angering China into open war and thus making way for conquest. There is no doubt that a good deal of the butchery in China, by the allied troops, came from the desire of the soldiers to try the terrific power of the new instruments, which for so many years they have been taught to handle. In every part of them, armaments make for war and enmity, not for concord and peace.

The time will come, as certainly as fate, unless other forces countervail, when the powers armed to

the teeth will be unable to resist the impulse to turn their big war machines loose. That peace, or what is called peace, has so far been kept by every device of diplomacy, has been to the surprise of nearly everybody, and is not the least ground for believing that war will not finally result.

The same tendency of armaments is showing itself in the case of our own, small as they yet are. What they lack in size they make up in ambitiousness. The men who manipulate their development, who are dependent upon them for promotion and fame, are coolly and calculatingly examining the horizon, to see where friction and prospect of war can be most easily gotten up. It is natural that they should do so. It is part of their business.

A year and more ago the naval board was cogitating thus, and fell upon Germany as the country with which we were certain to have a naval war in the near future. They of course found us unprepared for such an emergency. The idea was immediately afterward exploited publicly by senators and others. Recently the thing has been taken up again, with more intensity and directness. Germany has been declared to be craftily laying designs against South America and certain islands within "our sphere." The Monroe doctrine has been declared in great peril. Admiral Dewey's prophecy has been emphasized, and remade by the Admiral himself, that our next war will be with Germany. The result has been that Germany has been so stirred up that she has felt herself compelled in self-respect to ask at Washington what it all means, and to make an official statement that she has absolutely no designs against the United States, South America, Monroe doctrine, or anything else on this side, but that she sincerely desires to be on friendly terms with us. The war promoters will no doubt chuckle over what they have accomplished, and bide their time for another stroke.

There has been nothing whatever in Germany's conduct in this hemisphere to make any fair-minded American think that she has any colonial designs here. These army and navy promoters and their allies have manufactured the whole idea solely to advance their own aims, it would seem. If, however, the insinuations are continued from time to time, they will produce the very thing which these men, with so much pretended fear, assume to exist. It will offend any power like Germany to be thus accused. If the accusations are continued long enough by men in high positions, the masses of the people will come to believe what is said, a feeling of dislike of Germany will become general, fixed enmity on her side will arise, and with it "designs."

Even the Germans in South America, hundreds of thousands of whom are going there to escape the military burdens at home, and to try to improve their condition in freedom and quietness, without the least thought of colonial scheming, will at last grow indignant at being thus covered with reproaches. The result will ultimately be retaliation, colonial schemes in South America, and fixed estrangement between Germany and our country. This is the price we shall have to pay for such reckless and groundless talk, or, in other words, for having a body of ambitious militarists (supported and urged on by ambitious politicians), who naturally enough propose to expand their business.

When we compel nations, by the offensive and false surmises of prominent public men, to ask for explanations and make protestations of their innocence, we are not far from serious misunderstandings and strained relations with them. Harmful as all this will be in the end, and deplored too when the baneful hour comes, it is our certain fate if we continue to coquet with militarism, and allow its promoters to carry on their mischievous tactics at the heart of the nation. The work is going stealthily on while the people sleep, too busy with their own interests to call the administration of the nation's affairs to account. We are in greater danger of war to-day with foreign powers than we have ever before been in our history, because we are ourselves creating the unfortunate conditions out of which such danger grows. We are singing the song of peace while our hand is casting upon the earth the seed of hate and war.

National Honor.

On the 18th of May the British foreign office received through Lord Pauncefote the draft of a new canal treaty. The exact contents of the treaty are of course not yet made known, and will not be, except in the most general way, until the new project has been matured by the two governments. The document, in the drafting of which Lord Pauncefote has doubtless been freely consulted, is said to be a redraft of the previous treaty, with modifications supposed to accord with the views of United States senators, on whose votes the fate of the treaty will depend. But of this only surmises can yet be made.

It is not easy to see just how, considering the views held in London and among United States senators, the two governments can easily get together on the subject. The British government declined to accept the former treaty as amended, because it practically cast out the principle of neutralization incorporated in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. It will not be likely now to recede from this position materially. On the other hand, the Senate will probably not accept any convention that does not put the canal, if built by our government, under the entire control of the government in time of war.

Under these circumstances, and in view of the improbability that a canal will be built with private capital, it is proposed by prominent Americans that when Congress meets next December it should pro-

ceed at once to abrogate the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and go ahead and construct the canal without consulting England or anybody else. It is not surprising that such a proposition should emanate from Senator Lodge and others of his type, but it is almost incomprehensible that a man of the character and large diplomatic experience of Hon. John W. Foster should advise this procedure, as he did in his recent deliverance at Yale.

This course, which would be bad enough if there were no history behind it, would, after all that has happened, bring about such a state of ill-feeling and estrangement between the two countries as has not existed for a long time, if at all. This of itself would be ample reason under the circumstances for abstaining from any such arbitrary proceeding. A single act of this nature, against a kindred nation with which we have such varied and intimate relations, might easily destroy in a day an amount of good feeling and trust which a quarter of a century has been required to accumulate.

But there is a much more serious objection. To abrogate the Clayton-Bulwer treaty in this way would be an act of unusual national dishonor, for several reasons. The negotiation of the recent canal convention was begun by our government. The Hay-Pauncefote treaty was drafted by our State Department, presented in good faith to the British government and accepted without change. It was then so modified by the Senate as to render its approval by the British foreign office impossible. These negotiations have in themselves laid our government under certain obligations to Great Britain, which make it impossible without her consent to abrogate the old treaty with honor.

Further, under international law, even in its present imperfect state, the inviolability of treaties is held to be the first law of nations. Our government has been among the foremost to maintain this principle, both theoretically and practically. In this phase of its development international law has reached a point where it is in harmony with high morality. In spite, therefore, of Mr. Foster's reported declaration that "this government can declare itself under no obligation to any power," it is, because of its own profession and conduct in the past and the present demands of public international morality, under very binding obligations not only to Great Britain, but to the whole family of nations, as well as to its own publicly declared ideals. To deny and selfishly thrust from it all these obligations by a mere arbitrary stroke of the pen would be to draw upon it the just condemnation and lasting distrust of all peoples.

It is argued by Mr. Foster as well as by many others that we are justified in abrogating the treaty, because of the violations of it by Great Britain in her encroachments upon Central America. If this reasoning were true, the abrogation ought to have taken place many years ago. The time for it would now have passed. Our government has recognized and maintained the existence and obligations of the treaty up to the present time, and there would have been no thought of one-sided abrogation, if the construction of the canal were still considered a matter for private capital. The government has thus put itself under obligation not to abrogate it now, when no new violations of Great Britain have occurred. The Philadelphia *Public Ledger* is, furthermore, entirely right in its contention that violations of this and other treaty compacts in the past "furnish no justification for further international sins of a similar nature."

The reasons assigned to show that we should be justified in summarily abrogating the treaty are the changed conditions of the time. We have grown from twenty-three to seventy-six millions of people. Our commerce has immensely increased, and we have become a big world power. Our "interests" demand that the canal should be owned and absolutely controlled by us. Not a word is said in the contention about our having any duties to the world in the way of trying to lift it to a plane above that of merely selfish interest and aggrandizement. All this is deliberately put out of sight and practically trampled under foot.

If conditions had so changed that it were to England's interest to have the treaty abrogated, and to our serious or even small disadvantage, does anybody suppose that these men would be demanding the abrogation, or that they would not instantly resent any attempt at it by Great Britain? The whole present contention comes from purely selfish grounds, and means when analyzed that a nation's selfish conception of its own interests is the supreme and only rule by which its international conduct is to be determined; that its word and honor have no binding force beyond this. This is strange and ominous doctrine to come from American lips. It is a straight and open return to the principles of barbarism, where every individual is a law unto himself, and where morality and benevolence have no social standing.

We do not believe that our interests demand the abrogation of the treaty as proposed, or the building and control of the canal by us. These interests would be just as well conserved, in our judgment much better conserved in the long run, if the canal were built, owned, controlled and absolutely neutralized by the nations acting in concert! But if we did believe that our immediate material interests demanded the abrogation of the compact in the way proposed, we should still be utterly opposed to the nation's sacrificing its moral character and honor, and its good name for trustworthiness, by so doing. The ultimate effect of such a course of summary selfishness and dishonor would be many times as disastrous as any loss that could possibly come to us through failure to have absolute disposition of the canal.

Editorial Notes.

Pan-American Congress.

It has been rumored that the proposed Pan-American Congress, announced to meet in the City of Mexico in October, may fall through. A dispatch on the 20th ult. stated that Peru had officially notified the United States that she would decline to participate in the Congress, if arbitration, one of the subjects to be discussed, were to be limited to future questions. Peru has a controversy with Chile over two border provinces, Tacna and Arica, which she thinks ought to come within the scope of any arbitration treaty that might be drawn up. Argentina and Bolivia are said to sympathize with Peru in her dispute with Chile, and will decline to send representatives to the Congress if she does. We cannot believe that these rumors represent the real state of the case. Chile is one of the most advanced of the South American states; she has submitted disputes to arbitration, and we cannot believe that she will refuse to so act in case of her present contention with Peru. Nor can we believe that Peru would voluntarily cut herself off from the immense benefits of the Congress, or prevent, or threaten to prevent, its coming together, in order to compel Chile to come to terms. The whole rumor seems so irrational that it is more than probable that some ignorant or meddlesome newspaper correspondent is at the bottom of it. If the report is official, we believe that Secretary Hay will find some way to remove the obstacles, and that the Congress will not fail.

Launching of the Ohio.

The launching of the big new battleship Ohio at San Francisco on the 18th of May recalls the celebrated comparison made by Charles Sumner, in his great oration of 1845, between the old battleship Ohio, then "swinging idly at her moorings" in Boston harbor, and Harvard University, just across the Charles river. Sumner showed, at the time, that the whole available property of the university after two centuries of accumulation was less by a hundred thousand dollars than the cost of the battleship, and that the cost of maintaining the ship was annually greater than that of the seat of learning. There is no doubt that this single battleship Ohio, the new one being a continuation of the old one, has up to the present time consumed more capital than Harvard University, whose endowment has grown to something like ten millions. The estimated expense of the army and navy of the United States for the coming year would furnish the support for a year of *five hundred universities* at four hundred thousand dollars each, which is about the annual cost of Harvard. The total cost for a year of all the state common schools in the United States is at the present time only about two hundred millions, which barely equals that of the army and navy, small as they are. The total property of all the colleges and universities in the United States for both sexes, including libraries and scientific apparatus, is less than two hundred millions, or less than the national army and navy expenses for a single year. Their total income is only about twenty-five millions per year, or only one-eighth of what we pay this year on army and navy. There is something startling in these figures. We are great boasters of our educational institutions and facilities. But these figures seem to indicate that we are about as much given to the things of barbarism and brutality as to the things of civilization, and that for the present at least the former are rapidly gaining on the latter. Certainly no educational event in the history of the country has ever called out a tithe of the enthusiasm manifested at San Francisco when the battleship Ohio was launched last month. "Fifty thousand people cheered themselves hoarse, the big guns of the warships boomed a salute, and every steam whistle within a radius of five miles shrieked its loudest." "Scores of prominent men from different parts of the country," congressmen, governors and others, were present, and the naval demonstration was declared to be "the most formidable ever seen on the bay." There is enough in such an event to awaken just and deep anxiety in the minds of all true American citizens.

Church Leaders and War.

It is an encouraging sign of the times that the younger church leaders of the country are, one after another, becoming pronounced in their opposition to war as a method of trying to settle national disputes. It is the more significant to see Methodist leaders taking advanced views on the subject. In the past it has been the exception to find one of them on the side of the peace propaganda. The majority of them have either been openly and emphatically apologists for war, or they have been entirely silent on the subject. The youngest of the Methodist Bishops, Dr. John W. Hamilton of San Francisco, elected bishop only last year, has placed himself squarely in the ranks of those who maintain that war is antagonistic to Christianity and useless in the settlement of disputes. In a recent sermon in the Sumner Place M. E. Church of Buffalo, he declared that "War is utterly antagonistic to the teachings of Christianity. It is a relic of antiquity. It is the doctrine of 'might makes right.' It never settles anything and never will settle anything." In tracing the great conflicts and clashes of nations, he showed that however complete the subjugation of one party, the appeal to arms never definitely settled a matter. Soreness and bitterness always fol-

lowed. It was only time and other influences which it brought that effected the changes for the better. Physical force, he said, never did and never would convert to harmony differences existing in the minds and hearts of men. If the newspaper report of the discourse gives a fair impression of what Bishop Hamilton thinks, he has a true and thorough Christian insight into the nature of war, and most valuable service may be expected of him in bringing the nations to the final and complete substitution for it of what Sumner called "the more excellent way."

Christian Pulpits.

No pulpit that advocates war, or is always ready to apologize for and excuse it, can be properly called Christian. We are well aware that many pulpits in the country are not open to the severe strictures of Mr. Carman as published in our last issue. Such truly Christian pulpits are worthy of all praise and encouragement, and from time to time we mean to point them out and give them their due honor. One in particular we wish to speak of now, that of the First Congregational Church at Princeton, Ill. The church has a noteworthy history. It is the oldest in the state. From its pulpit Owen Lovejoy for seventeen years declared the great Christian doctrine of human liberty, along with the other principles of Christ's teaching. This pulpit at the present time is true to the principles of peace, which lie at the very heart of the gospel. The incumbent, Rev. James H. McLaren, is a man of great clearness and vigor of thought, and is filling the whole sphere of his activities with the lofty doctrines of peace and goodwill, so preëminent in the teaching of the Master. He is the author of several instructive and interesting books, the most important of which is "Put up thy Sword," a study of war, published last year by Flemming H. Revell & Co., New York. The work has had strong commendation in the press, and is written in a style which is both striking and attractive. It is a book to put by the thousand into the hands of all classes of readers, and would do immense good if given the wide circulation which it deserves. By writing it the preacher has greatly extended the influence of his pulpit. Mr. McLaren's teaching faces but one way. It is honest to the bottom, though always kind and courteous. The truth to him is not a matter of circumstance or shifting winds. He holds that nations, like individuals, have no business to swerve in the least from the highest law of life, that of love and self-sacrifice as taught and exemplified by Jesus Christ; and that real and lasting prosperity and greatness can be found only in willing and perpetual obedience to this law. In the closing chapter on "The Ultimate Tribunal," as in other parts of the book, he utters many very weighty and striking sentences:

"Covetousness has been the cause of many an unholy war, possibly all of them. Covetousness is the great mistake of all nations to-day." "The dead nations are those which have lived unto self. The nation that shall begin to live for other nations shall begin to live forever. This is God's law . . . acting also upon the nations of the earth. By helping others rise, they also rise, to power, dominion and glory. By giving unto others they receive from others infinitely more than they give. By blessing others, they also are abundantly blessed. By dying for others, they live to die no more. But that nation which treads down others is already dead and buried beneath the ruins of those whom it has crushed."

Not a School of Virtues.

In his new book on "The Individual," the purpose of which is to show the place of the individual life in the whole of nature as we now know it, Professor N. S. Shaler of Harvard University takes strong ground against the view that war is a school of virtues. His opposition to war arises fundamentally from his position that every man's life is most valuable in the scheme of nature, and that premature death is an exceeding evil. "The idea," he says, "that the death of the young under any circumstances can be other than calamitous . . . finds its only real support among those who hold to the notion that war is a help to the better motives of man . . . They indignantly ask of those who are for peace whether they are willing to purchase it at the cost of all the hardy virtues and noble devotions which uplift our race." "The error of these unobservant persons . . . is due to the common mistake of supposing that the qualities displayed in an action are derived from the action itself . . . A man does not derive from the fight the muscular strength he may use in battle . . . His courage, his obedience, his endurance in the trials of the campaign are not bred in it; they are the product of his whole life and that of his ancestors, who gave him his nature and nurture." He draws an instructive comparison, by way of illustration, between the hardy, courageous, high-minded Swiss, who have scarcely felt a touch of war for a hundred years, and the French, "a folk of endless warring, where hardly a generation in a thousand years but has known campaigns." The result of this age-long process of endless warring, as among the other Latin peoples, is not "courage, high-mindedness, patriotic self-devotion." The reason is plain. The able-bodied young men die in battle or of diseases. "The result is the impoverishment of the nation's blood." Keep up the process for a few generations and the inevitable result is a decadent folk such "as we find among the nations who have most amply made the hideous experiment of breeding nobility by sending their best to premature death." "The fancy that war is necessary to maintain the ideals of manly courage is as mistaken as the notion that the system of the duel was required

to uphold the sense of personal honor." "Whoever would mitigate the supreme evil of untimely death, whoever would give to this naturally glad world a chance to win its happiness, cannot do better service than to contend against war . . . If we can but spare the evitable wars — those which could be avoided if all decent men saw the measure of the iniquity — the world would be safely enough at peace."

Dr. Ament's Conduct.

Commenting on Dr. Ament's own statements in the *Independent* of what he did in China, the *Messenger of Peace* makes the following observations, which go to the very center of the matter from the Christian point of view:

"Whether what he did was 'looting' in the technical sense or not, we fail to see how it differs from stealing, or how upon any ethical basis he could justify the entering of other people's houses and securing a great deal of valuable property which did not belong to him, or why, having done it, he should feel injured when a protest was raised that the act was unchristian. The excuse may have been that the need was great, and that, if he did not do so, others would, who would apply it to bad uses; yet if the war spirit had not clouded his mind surely he could never have justified what he did. We do not blame Mr. Ament more than others. Doubtless many felt and acted in the same way. But this makes the whole matter the more to be regretted. Here we have accredited teachers of Christianity pursuing a course defensible upon no Christian grounds, justifying theft on the plea of expediency, and apparently considering that the endorsement of a United States Minister settled the moral question. It is an open avowal that Mr. Ament and the missionaries who agree with him show forth a Christianity based on the sword. Isn't this more worthy of Mohammed than of Christ?"

Tolstoy's Punishment.

It was not strange that the Holy Synod of Russia excommunicated Count Tolstoy. The wonder is that it was not done years ago. It has seemed an enigma to many that after his long-continued, severe criticisms he was willing to stay in the state church at all. He would undoubtedly have left it long ago but for the fact that there is no voluntary way out. The only gateway of departure is that of excommunication. The act of excommunication came at last. The Count not only laid bare the abuses of the church, its traditionalism, tyranny and cruelty, but he also opposed some of the most fundamental tenets of historic Christianity which the Russian Church holds, and which are in themselves in no wise responsible for such abuses as those which have existed in Russia. He is no doubt glad to be out of the communion. His protest is against the manner and spirit in which the excommunication was made, rather than against the thing itself. That he enjoys his excommunication, as a tribute to his moral freedom and conscientiousness, is clear from the fact that he makes it the text from which he renews his criticisms in just as direct and vigorous language as they were ever uttered before. There was some excuse, from certain points of view, for the Holy Synod to excommunicate him. He was already essentially out of the church. But the act of the government in stopping telegrams of sympathy sent to him, while suffering from fever, is without excuse. It is brutal and inhuman, and will do much to prevent multitudes from believing that any government which can do a thing so childish and inhuman can have any good thing in it. Tolstoy has a divine right, as a good man, as a member of the brotherhood of humanity, to these telegrams of love and esteem, and no government, actual or possible, has any right to interfere with them. In the end the man will come out ahead, and not the government, and humanity will be the gainer. Tolstoy belongs to the world, and the world will stand by him against no matter what political oligarchy and religious bigotry.

Opium Traffic in China.

The American Missionary Societies — Methodist, Presbyterian, Reformed, Baptist, Congregationalist, Lutheran, Mennonite, United Brethren, Christian, Moravian, and others doing work in the Empire — have sent a memorial to President McKinley, asking that on the negotiations for the settlement of affairs in China steps be taken to put an end to the opium traffic. All humane people will hope that this may be done. The memorial says most wisely and impressively:

"The position of our government is most favorable for taking the initiative in this matter. Our own treaty concluded with China in 1884, absolutely prohibiting all American citizens from engaging in the traffic, and all American vessels from carrying opium to or between the ports of China, expressing as it does the sentiment of the American people, and our cordial goodwill toward China in helping to relieve her of this traffic, gives us strong vantage ground for asking the other nations to join in this commendable purpose. As foreign nations will be urging a great extension of commercial privileges at this time, including the abolition of internal duties, and these privileges are necessary for the increase of commerce, they can most happily reciprocate what may be granted by China in this respect, by giving her their powerful help in delivering her from the multiplied evils of the opium traffic. While objections will doubtless be made by some interested parties to the great decrease of trade which will be occasioned by the interdiction of traffic in opium, it ought to be borne in mind that this traffic is one of the greatest obstacles to all legitimate trade, absorbing, as it does, more than the whole amount of the value of the export trade in tea, and impoverishing the people so that they cannot expend, as they otherwise would, large sums for the products and legitimate manufactures of other countries. The Chinese government has repeatedly declared its willingness and desire to

sternly prohibit the cultivation of the poppy as soon as foreign countries consent to the prohibition of the traffic. Such an act of humanity and justice on the part of our government at this time will greatly tend to increase good feeling among the Chinese officials and the vast multitudes of Chinese people. No one thing could have greater effect in overcoming the revengeful feelings aroused, especially in those regions of the country which have suffered most during the late troubles, and its whole influence throughout the land would be most beneficial. It would be a happy inauguration of the first new treaties of the twentieth century between western nations and China to carry out so humane and beneficial a purpose in the revision of treaties with that empire."

Great Years of Peace.

In a recent address, giving reminiscences of his life and work, Dr. Henry W. Thomas of Chicago speaks in the following optimistic vein of the present great world movement and the real brotherhood of humanity in which he, and all of us, believe it will end:

"A movement so vast has the possibilities of immeasurable good or evil. The initiative period is past; the great world movement is here, and is going forward with increasing velocity. Religion has heard the call to come down from the cloud lands of the speculative to the thought and work of the real, the practical; to the question of social justice, of the rights of the people, to the religion of humanity.

"It has come to my last years to take some little part in this great struggle, the greatest known to history. I cannot hope to see the end, but having in all the past hard battles tried to stand for truth and justice, for the rights of man, having stood and worked with and for the people, that is, must be, my place now. I pleaded for Cuba, the Philippines and the Boers, and I plead for them now, not for the reign of force, of might, but for the eternal right. I plead, not for a government of aristocracy, plutocracy, in this land, but for a government of the people; not for the fabulous wealth of the few, but for the best conditions for all in the common struggle of life.

"Time and experience will point the way, and I have faith in God and faith in man that this mighty transition means at last a reorganized world for the great years of peace, of liberty, of brotherhood on earth; years of plenty, when no ragged child will wander in the streets and cry for bread; years of learning, when the paths of knowledge shall be open to all; years of love, when man shall be the helper of man; years of hope, when above the tombs of time shall shine the skies of the eternal."

International Labor Bureau.

International institutions of various kinds are coming into existence so rapdily that it is difficult to keep trace of them. The latest to make its appearance is the International Labor Bureau, which was opened for business in Basle, Switzerland, on the 1st of May. The idea of such a bureau was first suggested by Mr. Emil Frey, once Swiss Minister at Washington, and afterwards President of the Swiss Republic. Negotiations for the bureau were begun by the Swiss National Council in 1876, but the replies from other governments were all unfavorable. In 1888 the scheme was again recommended, and in 1890 the German Emperor called a conference in its interests at Berlin. But nothing was done as to agreement about regulating hours of labor, work of women and children, etc. Four years ago the subject was taken up again, but only four of the governments approached gave the proposition support. The same year, 1897, the Swiss Workingmen's Society called an international Congress at Zurich, to which they invited as guests government labor officials, factory inspectors, etc. Here the project of an international bureau of a semi-private character took shape. Similar congresses were held afterwards at Brussels and Berlin, and out of them grew the International Union for the Legal Protection of Workingmen, which met in Paris in last July, completed its organization, and arranged for the opening of the Bureau. Several governments have already recognized the Bureau, and will assist financially in its support. The Director of the Bureau is Professor Stephen Bauer, of the University of Basle, formerly professor of political economy in the University of Chicago. The Bureau will first publish a collection of existing labor laws, and will issue an international bulletin and a labor annual. The general purpose of the Union and the Bureau will be to promote better labor legislation. It is an institution that will certainly do much to promote, not only the general interests of labor, but also better international relations in general.

The English Peace Society.

The Peace Society of England, founded in 1816, and therefore the oldest continuous peace organization in existence, held its eighty-fifth annual meeting on the 21st of May, in the large Friends' Meeting House, at Devonshire House, London. The meeting was presided over by the president, Sir Joseph W. Pease, M. P., and the list of speakers included R. Cameron, M. P., Alfred Emmott, M. P., Dr. R. Spence Watson, Rev. Webb Peploe and others. The annual report shows that the Society has carried on an extensive and vigorous propaganda during the year, spending more than ten thousand dollars. It deals with the war in China, the continuance of the wars in the Philippines and South Africa, and shows that the Society, by memorials to the government and appeals to the people, has exerted its full influence in favor of a speedy and fair ending of the hostilities. It also calls attention to the seriousness of the continually developing militarism, but sets over against this the ten new cases referred to arbitration during the year. The creation of the Hague Court of Arbitration it declares to be the crowning

event of the year and of the nineteenth century. Some fourteen cases of controversy are outstanding, to be referred to the Court. The Society has seven agents at work in the United Kingdom. The Secretary, Dr. W. E. Darby, has paid three visits to the Continent during the year. During the last elections the Society made special efforts to secure the return of peace men to Parliament. Over 36,000 invitations were sent out to ministers requesting them to observe Peace Sunday, to which 3,523 favorable replies were received. The Society printed during the year over 500,000 copies of peace pamphlets and leaflets, the most of which were distributed. An extensive and valuable distribution of literature was made in Paris during the Exposition through the Society's Paris agency. A similar work is contemplated during the Exposition in Glasgow this summer. The report closes with a reference to the century just ended as "the century of peace progress," during which about two hundred instances of arbitration had taken place.

War, Air and Water.

It seems now that neither air nor water below the surface is to be secure against the deadly machinations of war. In a recent editorial on the subject the New York *Tribune* says:

"It is probable that in the next European war between great nations — may the day of its horrors be far distant — balloons will play a larger part than they played in the French-German conflict in 1870, although many of them were employed while Paris was besieged. But the poet's vision of aerial navies grappling in the blue may never be realized on a vast scale; or, if fact ever takes the place of fancy, and the clash of arms between mighty hosts among the clouds rends the heavens, it is not likely to be heard by this generation at least. Tests of deadly vessels under water seem to be attracting more attention and research in Europe at the present time than the development of the possibilities of destruction that may be attained by airships. It may now be expected with reason that notable improvements will be made ere long in the construction of craft which can move swiftly and secretly under sea. Inventors and experts of exceptional ability are devoting themselves with zeal to experiments which may result in the strengthening of navies in operations below the surface of the waves. Startling feats in submarine navigation have already been achieved, but the limit of successes in that line does not seem yet to have been approached."

The *Tribune* is anxious to have the day of the horrors of a European war put off to a far distant date, and is glad that this generation will probably not hear the sound of the clash of arms between mighty hosts in the clouds. But is this a very creditable wish for a great journal which does very little to prevent the horrors which it so much dreads from occurring after its present editors and managers are all dead?

British Barbarities.

Ernest N. Bennet, in a recent issue of the *Contemporary Review*, writes as follows concerning certain cruelties inflicted under the protecting name of war:

"So-called Christian Britain indulges in rages of indignation over the atrocities of Moslems. It holds indignation meetings, and clamors for immediate chastisement upon the 'unspeakable Turk.' But Protestant sympathies have small extension beyond the boundaries of Christendom, and are without consistency even within those boundaries. No consideration, no thought is given to the natives of the Soudan, the tribes of India, the Kaffirs, who incur defeat at the hands of their Christian brethren, who are massacred while they lie on the field, when they are not left to perish in a slow martyrdom as a result of their attempt to defend themselves from an invader as savage as they are themselves.

"In view of these barbarities, they have reason who name us a nation of hypocrites. No wonder that Moslems resist the efforts of our missionaries, and that the natives of South Africa revert to their tom-tom dances and the depravities of fetichism! Are we really superior to them in the quality of mercy? We proclaim a creed of the equality of all men, bond, free, barbarian, civilized, and we outrage every law of humanity in our treatment of vanquished races. Christians, who boast of the power of their religion to elevate the status of woman and to protect the child, inflict the grossest indignities on the women and children of inferior peoples, and blow up with dynamite the caves in which the hapless, innocent creatures have taken refuge. Our creed enjoins upon us care for the sick, the bruised, the prisoner; but its adherents have no thoughts but those of cruelty for the sick, the bruised, the prisoner of other climes. And when one of our leaders falls we 'avenge' his death by a slaughter as indiscriminate, as extensive as any recorded of the cruel peoples of antiquity or of the cannibals of the Southern Seas."

Brevities.

. . . The seventh annual conference on international arbitration at Lake Mohonk, N. Y., occurred on the last three days of May. It was large and enthusiastic, surpassing in numbers all those preceding it. We shall give account of its character and work in our next issue.

. . . Vice-President Roosevelt, in a recent speech dedicating a country home for consumptives, said: "Unjust war is one of the worst things, and close behind it — I might say 'neck and neck' — is an unjust peace." Of which sagacious remark, a New York daily says that it "was about as intelligent as it would be for a man seeking the presidency of a Wall street bank to liven up the directors' meeting by firing off a pistol."

. . . Frederick W. Holls, secretary of the American deputation to the Hague Conference, had an interview with the Czar of Russia on the 29th of May, and found him just as steadfast as ever in his purposes to promote international peace by means of arbitration. The interview caused Mr Holls to feel that the work of the Hague Conference was of even greater importance than he had before believed.

. . . It is reported that Dr. Müller and Dr. Leyds, representing the Boer republics, have formally appealed to the Hague Court of Arbitration, promising to abide by its decision regarding the issues involved in the war. This of course is no ground of hope that war will give place to arbitration, for the constitution of the court makes it impossible for a case to get before it unless both the nations unite in referring it.

. . . D. L. Moody, when the Civil War broke out, explaining why he could not go out to kill his brother man, said, "I am too much of a Quaker."

. . . In the death of L. M. Chase of Roxbury, Mass., the American Peace Society loses a most devoted and valuable friend. He was last year made a member of its board of directors, and would have proved a valuable counsellor and helper in its work. Mr. Chase often declared to his friends in private and before the boys of the school which he so long directed that it was monstrous that after nineteen centuries of Christianity war should still prevail to so large an extent in the world.

. . . It begins to look now as if the Chinese difficulties would be finally settled without war between the European powers and without a division of the Empire.

. . . The acceptance by the Cuban convention of the Platt amendment, with the interpretations of Secretary Root incorporated into their resolution, has been rejected by the Administration at Washington, and the whole matter, constitution and all, sent back to Havana with instructions that the Platt plan must be accepted without conditions, or the island remain under military government. The Cubans have as yet had no voice whatever in becoming a free and independent people. Will they ever have? Does the Administration mean that Cuba shall ever be free?

. . . On Panels VI, VII, and VIII of the great pylons of the Bridge at the Buffalo Pan-American Exposition are these three inscriptions, prepared by Richard Watson Gilder: "To love one's country above all others is not to despise all others;" "The Brotherhood of Man — The Federation of Nations — The Peace of the World;" "Between nation and nation, as between man and man, lives the one law of right."

. . . On Panel II of the Propylæa of the Exposition is this inscription, also prepared by Mr. Gilder: "That the century now begun may unite in the bonds of peace, knowledge, goodwill, friendship, and noble emulation all the dwellers on the Continents and Islands of the New World."

. . . On the 22d of February the Norwegian Storting voted, with only one opposing voice, a peace credit of 700 francs to the International Peace Bureau, 700 francs to the Interparliamentary Peace Union, and 2,200 francs to pay the traveling expenses of two delegates to the Interparliamentary Conference.

. . . The Chinese government has consented, under protest, to pay the indemnity of $337,000,000, demanded by the powers, in yearly instalments of $10,000,000. Our own government thinks the amounts excessive, and if China's proposal is accepted, will insist on the arrangement for payment that is most acceptable to China.

. . . On receiving his appointment to the International Court of Arbitration, the late ex-President Harrison wrote: "It is by a spirit of love and forbearance mastering the civil institutions and governments of the world that we shall approach universal peace and adopt arbitration methods of settling disputes."

. . . One of our exchanges, after some calculations based upon the trade tables in Foreman's "Philippine Islands," says: "If peace were here now, the profits on our Philippine trade for the next two hundred years would not give us back the money thus far expended in the prosecution of the war, with a reasonable rate of interest on the amount. It is idiocy from a commercial standpoint to say that such war will pay the people of this country as a whole — idiocy, opaque, impenetrable, pitiable."

. . . The *Standard* says: "War will end; but the real power that will end it will not proceed from literature, nor from the pulpit, nor from parliaments or cabinets; it will come from the home. When woman says that war must end, it will end."

. . . Mr. Chester Holcombe, for many years secretary of the United States Legation in Pekin, in a recent most valuable book entitled "The Real Chinese Question" (Methuen & Co., London), declares the opium question to be the real one.

. . . The "World's Unity League" (Ella A. W. Hoswell, secretary, 6237 Greenwood avenue, Chicago), has just published the first of the "Good Tidings Series." The bond of union is thus worded: "Recognizing the interdependence and solidarity of humanity, we will welcome light from every source, earnestly desiring to grow in knowledge of Truth and the Spirit of Love, and to manifest the same by helpful service."

. . . Twenty-four states have legislation in relation to the arbitration and conciliation of labor disputes on their statute books. Sixteen of these have made provision for a permanent state board of arbitration, but only about five have inaugurated any effective system for carrying out the statutes.

. . . The Mexican government has issued invitations to all the American states to send representatives to the Pan-American Conference which is to meet in October. The governments are accepting the invitation.

. . . A report has been circulated that the French government is trying to acquire an island of the Galapagoo group, off the coast of Ecuador. The French foreign office declares that there is no truth in the report.

. . . On the 20th ult. a report came from Ottawa, Can., in consequence of some remarks made by the Premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, that the Joint High Commission, which has under consideration the various differences between this country and Canada, is to resume its sittings during the present summer.

. . . The military review held by Emperor William at Metz in honor of Czar Nicholas' birthday has been severely criticised in Paris as in bad taste. Militarism is always creating a bad taste in somebody's mouth.

. . . In a recent letter the Dean of Durham, England, says, that in order to resist "the bad militarism of the day, we have to begin right at the beginning and to insist

that the Sermon on the Mount shall not be neglected any longer."

. . . The ambassadors of the powers, to whom were referred the question of consular privileges under the Graeco-Turkish convention, have rendered their decision, which is in the main favorable to Greece, leaving the position of consuls in practically the same status as before the war. The award is final and goes into immediate effect.

. . . The Lombard Peace Union, Milan, Italy, has inaugurated a series of meetings in which will be discussed by all political parties the question of the renewal of the Triple Alliance, to which the Union is strongly opposed.

. . . The Norwegian Peace Association has published the first number of a paper, *Freds-Tidende*, which is to serve as the organ of its work.

Seventy-third Annual Business Meeting of the American Peace Society.

The seventy-third annual business meeting of the American Peace Society was held in Social Hall, Tremont Temple, Boston, on Friday, May 17, at 2 p. m.

Hon. Robert Treat Paine, president of the Society, presided.

Dr. S. F. Hershey, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Boston, asked the divine blessing on the meeting and the cause in which the Society is engaged.

Miss Lyra D. Trueblood was chosen recording secretary for the meeting.

The records of the previous annual meeting were read and approved.

Secretary Trueblood reported that all the officers chosen the previous year had accepted their places.

A letter of greeting from Rev. Samuel Hopkins Emery of Taunton, Mass., one of the oldest vice-presidents of the Society, was read by the president.

Secretary Trueblood introduced to the meeting Mrs. Maria Freeman Gray of San Francisco, president of the California W. C. T. U., who has been spending the year in New England.

On motion the president appointed a committee consisting of Mr. Edwin D. Mead, Dr. Charles G. Ames, and Dr. S. F. Hershey, to bring forward the names of officers to serve the Society the coming year.

The annual report of the treasurer, properly audited, was read, accepted and ordered to be placed on file. The report showed cash receipts during the year, including balance from last year, of $5,109.39, and expenditures of $4,872.88. The assets and liabilities account showed liabilities of $2,630.90, due the trustees of the Permanent Peace Fund, amounts advanced to the Society, and $75 due on rent; with assets of ten shares of C. B. & Q. stock worth, at present market rates, $2,000, and $236.51 balance in the hands of the treasurer; leaving a net indebtedness of $469.39.

President Paine spoke of the encouraging condition of the Society's finances compared with last year, of the generosity of its friends in responding to its appeals for funds, and expressed the hope that the Society or some one of its members might some time be the recipient of the large annual peace prize provided for by the will of the late Alfred Nobel of Sweden.

Secretary Trueblood called the attention of the members to the great need of a building owned by the Society for a permanent headquarters. The cause of peace was to be the great cause of the century, and he hoped that at no distant day some person or persons of means would provide the Society with funds for such a building, worthy of the cause.

The annual report of the treasurer of the Permanent Peace Fund (Trust) was then presented, for the information of the Society.

Mr. Edwin D. Mead, on behalf of the committee on officers, presented the names of the following list of persons, all of whom were elected to the several positions. (The list is published in full on page 130).

The annual report of the Board of Directors was then read by Secretary Trueblood. (The report is given in full below).

An interesting discussion followed the reading of the report, in which much gratitude was expressed for the remarkable growth of the cause of international peace during the past century, and the need emphasized of faithful and unremitting effort to bring clergymen and other influential classes of persons to a more open and uncompromising support of the principles of peace as taught by Jesus Christ. It was participated in by Edwin D. Mead, Dr. Reuen Thomas, Dr. W. A. Mowry, Mrs. Maria Freeman Gray, L. H. Pillsbury, Dr. Charles G. Ames, Dr. S. F. Hershey, President Paine and Secretary Trueblood.

On motion, the report of the Directors was accepted, and ordered to be printed in the ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

Secretary Trueblood called attention to the Tenth International Peace Congress, which is to meet in Glasgow during the week beginning September 7. On motion, the Board of Directors was asked to select delegates to the congress.

Attention was called by Mr. Mead to the fact that the National Council of Women, in coöperation with peace women of other countries, had arranged to observe this year, on the 18th of May, the anniversary of the meeting of the Hague Conference, by a universal peace demonstration, and that the clergy of the country had been invited by the council to speak upon the subject on the following Sunday.

The meeting adjourned at 3.45 p. m.

Annual Report of the Directors of the American Peace Society.

Mr. President and Members of the American Peace Society:

Your Board of Directors herewith respectfully submit the Seventy-third Annual Report of their work, and of the general outlook for the cause of international peace at the present time:

MEETINGS OF THE BOARD.

We have held regular meetings of the Board once in two months, as heretofore, and have had under consideration not only the different phases of the general propaganda which always engages the Society's attention and efforts, but also those living questions of the hour, so far as they have been related to our cause, which the events of the year have brought into prominence. We have proceeded, as far as practicable, upon the conviction that the great principles of goodwill and justice underlying all our work should not only be advocated in a general and abstract way at all times, but that they should be faithfully and vigorously impressed upon public attention at the very hour when they are being most sorely violated and trampled under foot.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.

The financial condition of the Society, we are glad to say, is considerably improved over last year. The trustees of the Permanent Peace Fund have not yet reached a plan for the re-disposition of the part of the fund invested in Boston real estate, so as materially to increase the income. On the other hand, a bequest of five hundred dollars has been paid during the year, and notice received of bequests to the amount of thirty-five hundred dollars which may be expected within less than two years. Our recent appeal for contributions has met with a generous response from a number of persons. The gifts thus received and the increased value of shares of railway stock held by the Society have considerably reduced our debt of last year. We would remind the members of the Society that, at this important juncture in the history of the peace movement, the funds at our disposal are very meagre compared with the greatness of the cause and the opportunities for effective service now open.

OUR PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS.

The ADVOCATE OF PEACE and the ANGEL OF PEACE have been continued under the editorial care of the secretary. Contributions for their free distribution have been received from a number of individuals and from the Miles White Beneficial Society of Baltimore, the Obadiah Brown Benevolent Fund of Providence, the Rhode Island Peace Society, the Friends' Peace Committees of both New England and New York. The paid subscription list of the ADVOCATE OF PEACE has slightly increased, and many testimonials come to our office of high appreciation of the character of the paper and of the influence which it is exerting. The paper has been sent regularly, as heretofore, to college and university reading rooms, theological schools, Y. M. C. A. rooms, to many public libraries, and to as many ministers, teachers, and other leaders of public thought and builders of public character as our funds have permitted.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

We have continued the distribution, by sale and otherwise, of books, pamphlets, reports of peace conferences, etc., as heretofore. Our stock of literature contains supplies of some forty different pamphlets, reports and leaflets. Some new pamphlets have been added during the year. The demand for peace literature from young men and women in colleges and schools continues good, and is one of the most hopeful signs of the steady growth of an intelligent interest in the cause. A number of individuals and societies in different parts of the country have done much for the promotion of our work by purchasing and circulating our literature. The call for standard works on peace, such as those of Dymond, Sumner, the Baroness von Suttner, Bloch, etc., has been encouraging. An important addition to peace literature has been recently made by Frederick W. Holls, Secretary of the American delegation to the Hague Conference, in his large and comprehensive work on the history and work of that conference.

PUBLIC WORK.

Our public work, through the president, secretary and other members, has been much the same as in former years. In February of this year Mr. Paine had an interview with President McKinley, just after Congress had put into his hands the entire power of dealing with the Philippine situation, with a view of trying to promote a speedy and generous ending of the conflict. This interview was followed by an open letter to President McKinley, drawn by the president and secretary, which was published by the Associated Press and in the ADVOCATE OF PEACE, and a copy sent to President McKinley.

Secretary Trueblood has given many lectures and addresses during the year, a part of them in a lecture trip in the southern states, under the auspices of the Alkahest Lyceum of Atlanta. Many members of the Society in different parts of the nation have been actively and earnestly engaged in their several communities in the work of developing public peace sentiment and opposing the prevailing drift toward militarism.

The public meeting held under our auspices in Tremont Temple, on the 16th of January, in commemoration of the progress of the cause of international peace the past century, was an occasion of enthusiastic interest, and its influence we believe will be great and lasting. The addresses delivered on this occasion were all published in the February ADVOCATE OF PEACE, and one of them has been put into pamphlet form for future circulation.

THE PARIS PEACE CONGRESS.

Four members of the Society named by us, namely, the president, the secretary, Joshua L. Baily of Philadelphia and L. M. Chase of Boston, together with two associate delegates, appointed by the president and secretary, namely, Mrs. George W. Metcalf of New York and Miss Isabel King of the National Normal School of the Argentine Republic, attended the Peace Congress held at Paris the first week in October. This congress, the ninth in the present series of international peace congresses, was in some respects the most remarkable peace congress yet held. There were about one hundred and fifty official delegates from the peace societies, and three hundred more adherents who took cards of membership. Besides this, many persons attended the sessions from day to day, including a number prominent in French political and educational circles. There were delegates

from twenty-four countries, including some never before represented.

Of the two hundred congresses held during the Exposition, this was declared to be the largest and most impressive. Its reception by the government was most cordial, the Minister of Commerce, Mr. Millerand, being present at the opening session and delivering an admirable discourse. The interest and enthusiasm manifested from day to day were strong and deep, and continued unabated to the end. The discussions were warm, sometimes impassioned, but always courteous and fair. The most striking feature of the congress was that it took up and discussed with directness and fearlessness the serious and delicate questions of the hour, and went into a critical examination of the causes of war, general and particular, as no congress had done before. Both in its debates and in its final appeal to the peoples of the world, the congress made a powerful appeal that right and justice, love and cordial friendship, may prevail in all the relations to one another of the nations, great and small, civilized and uncivilized.

THE PEACE EXHIBIT.

The Peace Exhibit made during the Exposition, under the direction of the International Peace Bureau, was most creditable to the cause, and drew a great deal of attention, especially the charts prepared by the English and French peace societies and those by Mr. John de Bloch. The Exhibit was in a conspicuous place in the Swiss Social Economy Section, fronting one of the main entrances. There was also near by a very pretty exhibit of flags and emblems, made by the women of various branches of the Women's Peace Alliance.

CONFERENCE OF THE WOMEN'S UNIVERSAL PEACE ALLIANCE.

The Women's Universal Peace Alliance, originally organized some five years ago as a Disarmament League, by the Princess Wiszniewska, a French lady of high social standing, has grown to be an important organization. Through the signatures of individuals and of the officials of women's organizations in different countries, its constituency is said to number at the present time from three to five millions of women. The first conference of the Alliance was held at Paris just before the Peace Congress. It continued for three days, and its discussions were able and interesting. About fifty delegates were present.

THE WORK OF THE PEACE SOCIETIES.

During no year since peace societies were first organized, eighty-six years ago, has their propaganda been carried on with more vigor, courage and faith than the past year. There are now 91 general associations, with 347 branch societies, making in all 438 organizations, doing their work in seventeen countries. During the year a number of local peace associations have been formed in European countries, and a vigorous society in Auckland, New Zealand. The movement is constantly taking deeper hold of the masses, and prominent public men in most countries do not now hesitate to affiliate themselves with it.

The voice of the peace associations in all countries, singly and united, has without exception been lifted in clear, insistent tones against the dominant spirit of militarism and aggression, and against the policies of injustice and greed back of much of the still unsettled disturbances. They have let no opportunity slip to plead for the cessation of hostilities and the adoption of generous, high-minded policies of a nature to preserve peace hereafter. The English societies have continued, in season and out of season, their brave protest against the British government's course in South Africa. They have had the sympathy and support of their sister societies in all other countries.

Against all severe and high-handed methods of dealing with China has the peace protest been also strong and incessant. Peace men and women have not only lifted their voice against the abominations of war and pleaded for peace; they have also demanded the cessation of injustice and oppression everywhere, under whatever cover, as not only wrong in themselves, but as leading inevitably to war. They have been severely criticised and mocked for this, but they have simply gone on with their duty and made their protest all the stronger. The societies have been thoroughly united and in intimate coöperation in all these efforts. Their movement has become so widespread, strong and thoroughly organized that it is no longer ignored. Where they do not command respect, as is the case generally, they are hated and ridiculed, which is almost as encouraging. No movement of the century just closed has greater reason to congratulate itself on its permanent gains and lasting successes than that of the peace societies.

THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE BUREAU.

The peace societies are now permanently bound together not only by the Peace Congress, but also by the International Peace Bureau at Berne. This bureau, under the wise and efficient direction of its secretary, Mr. Elie Ducommun, has done exceptionally good service the past year in keeping the societies in communication with one another, and in communicating their united appeals to the several governments.

PEACE DAYS.

Peace Sunday, the last Sabbath before Christmas, was again observed in December last by many ministers in Great Britain, by some in portions of the United States, and a few on the continent of Europe. The 22d of February, the day chosen by the European societies for a joint peace manifestation, was this year an occasion of unusual interest. Meetings were held in many cities of Europe, and strong resolutions, nearly identical in terms, were voted, condemning the policies which lead to war, and urging the universal application of the principles of justice and peace in international affairs. The meetings held on this occasion in France and Germany were probably the most important national peace conventions ever held on the Continent.

TENTH INTERPARLIAMENTARY PEACE CONFERENCE.

The Interparliamentary Peace Union, the most important unofficial body of public men in the world, having at the present time a membership of about fifteen hundred, with groups in eighteen countries, held its tenth conference at Paris the first week in August last. There were 656 delegates present, 61 from Germany, 40 from Great Britain, 43 from Austria, 68 from Hungary, 59 from Belgium, 27 from Switzerland, 25 from Roumania, 75 from France, 199 from Italy, with smaller numbers

from other countries. The conference gave special attention to the peace duties of neutrals in time of war, to treaties of obligatory arbitration, to the importance of securing the adherence of the non-signatory powers to the Hague Conventions, etc. It is impossible to overestimate the practical importance of this great international body, which, though unofficial, serves as a real and powerful bond of union and sympathy between the legislative bodies of the different governments. It is not too much to consider it in important respects the beginning of a world parliament.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL UNION.

At the time of the Interparliamentary Conference, an International Union for Justice, Right and Peace was provisionally formed at Paris by W. T. Stead, Hodgson Pratt, W. R. Cremer, Frederic Passy, John de Bloch, Moncure D. Conway, and other eminent publicists. The purpose of this union is somewhat wider than that of the peace societies. It is proposed to endow it strongly, and to have national committees in different countries, and a central council to direct the whole. The purpose is to make it not only a commission of inquiry, like the official commissions provided for by the Hague Convention, but also a sort of unofficial arbitration council, to pronounce its judgment on the merits of certain international controversies which may not yet have been submitted to official arbitration. The organization, with whose purposes all the friends of peace are naturally in sympathy, has not yet sufficiently developed to enable us to pronounce judgment on either its advisability or its prospects of success.

INTERNATIONAL LAW ASSOCIATION.

The International Law Association, founded in 1873 through the initiative of a former secretary of our Society, Dr. James B. Miles, held its nineteenth Conference at Rouen, France, the last of August. Our distinguished fellow-countryman, Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, of the Supreme Court of Connecticut, presided. The conference was attended by some sixty-five out of the total membership of three hundred and thirty-five, and was considered a very successful one. Papers were read and discussions held on the progress of arbitration, on intervention, foreign judgments, the abolition of slavery, the immunity of private property at sea in time of war, etc. One of the chief purposes of this association, now as at its origin, is the reform of international law, so as to bring it more into harmony with the principles of right and goodwill; and considerable progress has been made in this direction in recent years through the instrumentality of this and other forces.

THE MOHONK ARBITRATION CONFERENCE.

The sixth in the series of conferences on international arbitration which Mr. Albert K. Smiley is holding at Lake Mohonk, N. Y., met on the 30th of May last summer. It brought together the usual number of prominent men and women, and added its usual weight of influence to the ever-increasing volume of public sentiment in favor of the pacific settlement of all international controversies. The conference was participated in by several members of this Society. Mr. Smiley has already sent out invitations for the seventh conference, which is to meet on the last three days of this month.

THE MYSTIC PEACE CONVENTION.

The thirty-fourth anniversary of the Universal Peace Union of Philadelphia was held at Mystic, Conn., the last week in August, in the peace grove and temple now owned by the union and used each year for a summer peace school and a popular convention. The convention was participated in by the Connecticut Peace Society, and called together large numbers of people from the surrounding country. Addresses were made by a number of well-known peace workers, and there were earnest discussions of important questions each day.

THE COMING PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE.

The conference of representatives of all the independent nations in the Western Hemisphere, to which allusion was made in our report last year, is announced to meet in the City of Mexico in October next. This ought to be, as the purposes for which it is called indicate that it will be, the most important international assemblage which has ever gathered in the Western world. Events have ripened rapidly since the International American Conference called by Mr. Blaine twelve years ago. The things which failed to be realized then — a general arbitration system for the American nations and a general agreement in the way of more generous reciprocal trade relations — ought to be easy of accomplishment now. If the Western Hemisphere should agree at this meeting to refer all its international controversies to the new Hague court, it would be a step of transcendent importance equalled only by the setting up of the court by the twenty-six powers. To this end all the friends of peace in America ought to exert their utmost influence.

GENERAL PROGRESS OF ARBITRATION.

Notwithstanding the great disturbances which have absorbed the attention of cabinets and peoples, the cause of arbitration has gone on steadily progressing the past year. It has been interfered with to some extent, but in no serious sense checked. Some disputes formerly referred to arbitrators have been decided, some cases are still pending, and a few new cases have been referred during the year. The list includes at least a dozen cases, and the parties interested have been the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, the Argentine Republic, China, Chili, Brazil, Turkey, Greece, Portugal, the Congo Free State, Italy, Russia, Columbia and Costa Rica, sixteen countries in all. This is a record of peculiar significance considering the times through which we have been passing.

COMPLETION OF THE PERMANENT INTERNATIONAL COURT OF ARBITRATION.

The great event of the year, in the international peace movement, has been the completion of the Permanent Court of Arbitration. Two years have passed to-morrow since the Peace Conference called by the Czar of Russia met at The Hague. Within that time one after another of the twenty-six signatory powers has ratified the convention for the pacific settlement of international controversies, until China, Turkey and Luxemburg alone remain which have not taken official action upon it. Sixteen of the powers had, at our latest information, appointed their members of the court, fifty-two members in all, and it is probable that by this time some of the others have done so. On the 13th of April just passed, Dr. W. H. De

Beaufort, the Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs, whom the convention makes the president of the Administrative Council of the Court, sent official notice to all the powers concerned that the court was definitively organized and ready for business. The men chosen as members of the court are among the most able and experienced jurists in their several countries. The governments naming these men signify thereby their belief that this court is to play a high and honorable rôle in the world's affairs, and the august tribunal thus commences its career in a manner to receive the support and confidence of the civilized world. It is a great triumph. Nobody believed even a decade ago that it would come to pass in our time. The American Peace Society, which has for nearly three-quarters of a century worked earnestly and persistently for an international court of arbitration, has reason to feel deeply grateful for the share which it has been permitted to have in this wonderful accomplishment, which is at the same time only the beginning of still greater things which our program has always contemplated, and for which the times are fast ripening.

THE PHILIPPINE SITUATION.

It is not pleasant to turn from so sublime and inspiring an event as that just described to what the year has witnessed in the way of war, massacre, and the immoralities and desolations attending them in different parts of the earth. It would be superfluous to repeat at this time the comments made in our report a year ago on the conflict in the Philippines. After a year of petty warfare, each month of which has brought its millions of expense and its lists of killed, wounded and broken down men, recent events indicate that the struggle in any extended way is nearing its end. Sorry as we have been to see committed by our government what has seemed to many of us a great and inexcusable wrong, we shall all be glad when hostilities are ended and peace restored; especially since there are present reasons to hope that our victorious government, now that it has crushed with its might the native people which have been struggling for what they believed to be their most sacred right,— independence,— will carry the spirit of generosity and fairness to such a degree as to break down largely the hatred which the war has generated, by finally allowing the native people to determine for themselves whether they will remain under the sovereignty of the United States or not. We venture to hope also that the nation has, through the cost and moral evils of the war, learned a lesson that will last throughout its whole future history, and make it scrupulously careful hereafter to avoid all policies which have in them the fateful seeds of war and the national deterioration which it brings.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONFLICT.

The conflict in South Africa still goes on, and is proving over and over again, if further proof were needed, the appalling wickedness and utter insanity of war in our time. The whole country has been laid waste, its homes burned and blown to pieces. The Boer women and children by thousands are shut up in military camps, where they are suffering untold hardships, and many of them dying from bad food, exposure and disease. In the nineteen months since it began, the war has cost England more than seven hundred and fifty million dollars, or about seven times the total wealth of all the Boers in the Transvaal when hostilities began. Fifteen thousand British officers and men have been killed, and forty-five thousand men wounded and permanently disabled, making the total losses sixty thousand. How much of ruined hopes and blasted lives in England's homes this means, none but God can fathom. To Briton and Boer alike the war has proved to be a veritable hell. Since the failure of the recent peace negotiations, it looks as if this saddest of modern international tragedies is not to end until the Boers are all captured or slain. Its ghastly lessons ought to be impressive enough to array henceforth all good men and women in all lands in a united and undying opposition to the supremest of earthly iniquities.

THE CHINESE HORRORS.

What tongue can portray adequately the terrible scenes which have been enacted in China, where massacres by heathens and counter-massacres by the troops of so-called Christian powers have occurred, which in horror have probably never been surpassed in the annals of human butchery. Hate and vengeance seem to have gone to their utmost length. Recent estimates of Chinese authorities declare that not less than one million Chinese men, women and children have perished in the fighting, the massacres and punitive expeditions, or by disease and starvation. Intelligent foreigners who know the facts say that this is not an overestimate. The slaughter of missionaries and other foreigners, the wreckage of mission work, the temporary ruin of business, the hundreds of millions of property destroyed on this side and on that, the hate and vengeance stored up for the future, unite in pronouncing what it would seem ought to be the final and complete condemnation of the policies of reckless ambition, greed and aggression out of which wars spring, and without which they would probably never occur. Henceforth let no nation or man lay claim to civilization who dares to utter a word of apology for such policies. Henceforth the sanity of our peace principles needs no defenders.

CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT OF ARMAMENTS.

The old story of rivalry in armaments, with the accompanying burdens of taxation and progressive exhaustion of people's resources, which this board has been repeating for thirty years, has to be told again. Armies continue to grow, navies to be enlarged, and of budgets of war there is no end. The past year has added not much less than a thousand millions to the vast war debt of the world. In the last half century the population of the world has only doubled, while its indebtedness, mostly for war purposes, has quadrupled, or grown from eight billions to thirty-two billions of dollars. Our own country has entered the rivalry, provided for quadrupling its army and is greatly increasing its navy, in spite of the fact that the chief evidence of increasing civilization is the decreasing employment of force. The evils of many kinds which attend these great armaments are forever in evidence, and out of them comes a perpetual dread which hovers over the world. How much heavy, sad work yet remains for the friends of peace to do!

THE OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE.

But in spite of these dark and ominous facts, we are confident that, as the centuries go, the days of war are soon to be numbered. The cause of international brother-

hood has made many and great gains within a hundred years. Arbitration has already won its place among the forces of civilization. The number of those of all classes who are opposed to war has greatly increased. The protest against it as iniquitous and grotesquely absurd is now one that never ceases, not even when hostilities are raging. The opposition is thoroughly organized,— conscious of the righteousness of its cause, and neither ashamed nor afraid to make itself heard. Every war to-day has to defend itself before the public conscience of the world. The twentieth century opens with a permanent international court of arbitration set up and ready to commence its work, an accomplishment the foretelling of which a century ago would have been pronounced the wildest and absurdest of dreams. The Utopia of yesterday has become the reality of to-day. It will be so again. There was never before so great reason as now for pushing, in faith and hope, the holy cause of peace, with all possible strength and earnestness. It is the cause of God and of humanity. The new century begins with all the upward movements of the race in alliance with us, and it ought not to end without the complete and everlasting triumph of the cause for which this society has so long labored.

In closing our report, we desire to record our devout thanks to the God of peace for the blessings which he has bestowed upon the work of the society and all kindred organizations, not only during the past year, but during the whole period of their existence.

On behalf of the Board of Directors,

BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD,
Secretary.

BOSTON, May 17, 1901.

Correspondence.

Dear Dr. Trueblood: I am glad you have told, in plain English, the true morality of those wretched *Independent* and *Outlook* (facing-both-ways) deliverances on the Aguinaldo capture. These proofs that when men undertake to make wrong right they have sold themselves to the devil, ought to make us all the more assured of the rectitude of our position in steadily, if unsuccessfully, denouncing the war spirit as tantamount to all immoralities. The proofs of our sanity are so abundant as to startle even ourselves. For myself, I am thankful that "I have kept the faith," and have uttered no word of which I shall be ashamed in the Great Assize. But we are all demoralized by these sad events, and there is no room for boasting. Yours cordially,

BROOKLINE, MASS., May 8. T.

Dear Dr. Trueblood: Allow me to criticise an article reprinted from the *Commercial Advertiser* in the May ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

I do not think its onslaught on the Christian church either true or justifiable. The churches have their faults, and great ones, and some of them unquestionably in the line indicated. They have not spoken as they should against war in general, nor against the cruel butchery of England in South Africa and our own country in the Philippines. Let this be sadly confessed; but even so, to say of the Christian churches as such that they are to-day "disseminators of a pestilent falsehood directly opposed to the teaching of Christ," . . . "wretched servitors of Mammon, waiting on the Time-Spirit," etc., is neither kind, nor true, nor just.

It may be a fair characterization of some of them, — alas! if it should be so,— but not of all by any means; and Mr. Carman is going altogether too far when he makes such an arraignment. I believe many pastors would utterly repudiate the imputation for themselves and their churches. As for myself, I wish as occasion serves to plead for peace, and to denounce war as entirely opposed to the teachings and precepts of our Lord, and I do so. Very truly yours,

NEW YORK, May 10, 1901. W. T. S.

Dear Friend: I am glad the ADVOCATE OF PEACE grows stronger year by year in its ability to set forth the truth on this grand subject of peace and arbitration. I hope to live to see the day when a Christian will be just as much ashamed to confess that he ever upheld war as all Christians are to-day ashamed of holding a former belief in human slavery. R. H. S.

Plymouth Rock.

BY ELIZABETH SAMPSON HOYT.

Where midnight stars an audience gave,
There Plymouth Rock still stands to save.

To save? For whom sailed out those braves
Who landed there from wrathful waves?

When midnight stars that audience heard,
They thrilled with Time's most august word:

"Father Jehovah, we are here;
Tyrants will find our coming dear.

"Hail, love divine; hail, love of earth;
Great God, hail thou a nation's birth!"

Then Plymouth Rock was cleft with fire,
And Seraphim led off the choir,

As canopy and ocean-strand
Proclaimed the anthem of our land:

"Henceforth forever be it known
That we, the People, are the throne,

"To stay the wrong, to speed the right,
With all our grand ideal might:

"Ourselves and our posterity
Sacred to truth and liberty."

Lifts here a hand against *that* creed,
Let him to Plymouth's shrine proceed.

If there his soul is not then stirred
By what that sentinel rock once heard,

The splashing waves will sure retreat,
And leave a desert at his feet;

Each midnight star will veil its face
From traitor found in holy place;

And in no land for him shall be
Music, "My country, 'tis of thee."

The Curse of Militarism.

BY HERBERT W. HORWILL.

"Of all the men we ever met who knew history, he had the most profound horror of militarism." This extract from the London *Spectator's* biographical note on the late Mr. William Clarke is especially significant as coming from a journal which has itself found so many excellent reasons for the slaying of one's fellow-creatures. Such a sentence touches only one side of a richly-endowed life, but, even if there were nothing to add, it would in these days serve as an honorable and enviable epitaph. It happens that one of the last of Mr. Clarke's contributions to the press illustrates very effectively both the earnestness of his convictions and the reasonableness of their basis. In the current number of the *Young Man*, an English monthly, appears an article of his, entitled "The Curse of Militarism," which Mr. James Bryce has described as "a vigorous and timely deliverance on a matter of great present concern to Englishmen and Americans." "We and they," continues Mr. Bryce, "have been the nations that have longest resisted the unhappy reaction towards barbarous ideals and dangerous mental habits, and if we now yield, we shall have less excuse than the nations of the European Continent."

The article thus commended to the attention of American as well as English readers deals lightly with the sentimental objections to war, on the ground that these have often been stated and emphasized. Mr. Clarke's attack on militarism is mainly supported by the less usual but equally powerful argument that it involves inevitable moral reaction. He approaches the subject from the standpoint of Darwinian conceptions of nature, in spite of the fact that the doctrine of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest has been pleaded in favor of the view that war promotes progress. For an illustration of this misinterpretation of the true meaning of evolution, Mr. Clarke goes to Dr. Lyman Abbott's speech at the Congregational Council at Boston, in which the sword was regarded as a preparation for the gospel. "We have heard a good deal," is Mr. Clarke's comment, "of what Christ would do if he were in London or Chicago; had he been in Boston on that occasion, I think he would have repeated that awful saying, 'I never knew you; depart from me, ye that work iniquity!'" On the other hand, Mr. Clarke brings high scientific authority to witness that the progress of mankind in any moral sense is due only partly to strife; indeed, that its leading factor has been coöperation.

Starting, then, from the fundamental truth that man is a social animal, and that his development must be expected through amity rather than through conflict, Mr. Clarke has no difficulty in showing that war is an enemy to the only kind of evolution that is worth having. It reanimates "the ape and tiger," instead of eliminating them. The ancient proverb, *Inter arma silent leges*, is significant in this connection. "For what is it to silence the laws? It is to substitute brute force for reason, to deprive citizens of moral security, to put back the clock of civilization, and to draw once more into the human mind the devils of greed, robbery, hatred, murder, which the moral forces of the world were just beginning to expel from what the apostle tells us should be the temples of the Holy Spirit. Interpret that phrase how you will, it is clear that the qualities of mind induced by militarism are fatal to those other qualities, which every thinker and teacher throughout history has endeavored to plant in the human animal so as to raise him to the spiritual level." Further, the anti-social motive of individual aggrandizement, as opposed to the common benefit, is more and more coming to be the principal motive for war. Mr. Clarke, who attributes the Transvaal War to the designs of the Rand millionaires, suggests that in the matter of Cuba and the Philippines also the old words about patriotism and loyalty are being used to cover greed of private gain.

It is to be noted that the argument, as to the bracing moral effect of war upon the combatants, appeals more to sentimentalists who stay at home than to the men who are actually at the front. The arm-chair thinker may pronounce it beneficent, but General Sherman calls it "hell." It was pointed out long ago by Dr. Channing that those who advocate war on the ground of the self-sacrifice exhibited in it might as well advocate arson on the ground that thereby there is scope for the heroism of members of fire brigades. Mr. Clarke, in like manner, points to the opportunities for heroism afforded by storms at sea, and declares that "there is more moral heroism in a coal-mine, or at the London docks, in one day than on the field of battle in a year." This heroism, too, is not marred by any infusion of hatred to one's enemy, such as is inevitable in the very nature of war.

Indeed, Mr. Clarke goes so far as to say — what to many will be rank blasphemy, but may nevertheless be simple truth — that war and preparations for war, instead of promoting a heroic frame of mind, usually make for precisely the opposite. "War finds the officers thinking of promotion, the contractors thinking of profits, statesmen thinking of gains for their country as against some other country, journalists thinking of how they can most effectively blacken the opposing people, and the multitude thinking of another sensation to throw its blinding glare on the gray background of everyday life." Mr. Clarke does not argue that war has never evoked high moral qualities, but he makes the reasonable demand that we must look to the facts of to-day, in our present stage of moral evolution, instead of falling back upon the ancient examples of Miltiades or Camillus. He examines the crowds that thronged London streets on Mafeking night, and is unable to find in this war-drunken multitude those qualities of fortitude, justice, magnanimity and sanity, which are essential features of true heroism.

For war, even at the best, means the hypnotizing of a whole nation, which behaves in consequence with no less absurdity than a hypnotized man. "All other nations note the absurdity, just as do the spectators of the hypnotic show, and they express themselves as to the folly. But so far is the national patient gone that he becomes very angry at this criticism, puts it down to envy and malice, holds erect to heaven his flaming countenance, and talks some nonsense about 'splendid isolation.' As well might an 'isolated' patient in a fever hospital boast of his condition." Will the hypnotized victim awake before all that is noblest and best in his life has perished through his illusions? That these illusions are fatal, there can be no doubt; for history, as well as reason, abundantly justifies the conclusion of Mr. Clarke's article, that "the game of militarism does not pay, physically, economically, financially. It spells ruin."

War, Missions and Christian Methods.

BY MARY S. ROBINSON.

Professor Francis G. Peabody of Harvard, in his recently issued volume, "Christ and the Social Question," page 355, writes: "The military leaders of a superior race often say, in their aggressiveness, 'Let us first subdue this people by force of arms, and so clear the way to teach them the teaching of Jesus.' But this teaching must be communicated through the process of [a Christian] civilization; neither after nor before such process. It is impossible for the same nation to present itself to a non-Christian people first as rapacious, commercialized, lustful for glory, so-called, and later as an embassador of the mercy and kindness of Jesus. The moral quality of the conquest, and not that which may be done after the conquest, represents the Christian energy of the stronger nation, and it is the motives which prompt and direct the first approach to an inferior people which will bring the latter either to Christ or repel them from him."

So, too, the late Miss Mary Kingsley, herself a victim of war, wrote in her "West African Studies," pages 367-372: "England from the first has again and again assured the African that she had no intention of robbing him of his country; none the less, as soon as she was able to do this, she has done it. One act of such treachery destroys all confidence between the betrayed and the betrayer." The West Africans were disposed to listen to the missionaries until the British soldier appeared among them. Of him they said: "He is as bloodthirsty as any of our own people. His god is no better than ours."

Richard Williams, the first missionary to Patagonia, perished there, with several comrades, from starvation. Before his death he was several times menaced by the Fuegians and Southern Patagonians, but he wrote in his diary: "For no consideration would I injure a hair of the heads of these men, whom I am come hither to seek and to rescue from their ignorance and sin."

The havoc which war makes with missions has been mournfully manifest latterly in South Africa and in China. In the last-named country nearly all the mission buildings — dwellings, churches, schools, colleges, hospitals — have been laid in ruins; and the Christians of Western Europe and America are now to be taxed for the rebuilding of these edifices at an immense cost. We can ill afford this extortion imposed by war, in view of the pressing, the immediate needs of millions of human beings at home and abroad. Worse than this, the Christian character of the missionaries has been seriously compromised by the barbarous exigencies of war. Exiling themselves from their native land for the purpose of making known the God of peace, the Prince of peace, to the people of the middle empire, they have been constrained to deal destruction and death to hundreds of that people, to levy contributions of money on villagers perishing from want, and so to invite curses on themselves and execrations on the religion they would propagate. All this is the inevitable result of the infamous opium war waged by nominally Christian British in 1840, with the sequent events attendant on that war, against which every mandarin of Eastern China vainly protested. Verily, when the monstrous god of war conscripts the direct representatives, the embassadors of Christ, into his ranks, can he further go in his demoralization of the Christian portion of our war-furrowed world?

Military Instruction in Schools.

BY GEORGE W. HOSS.

There are tidal waves in the affairs of men, as on the ocean. Some of these are, at long intervals, waves of virtue, as of education, temperance, social purity and the like. They are, however, frequently of evil, not to say sin. For two years and more such a tidal wave has been sweeping over this nation. It is the tide of war sentiment.

We do not need to mention the character of war as seen on the battlefield, its degrading influence in the camp, and at times in the home. On the other hand, let us note its effects in Congress, and in consequence upon education.

So infatuated were many men in Congress with the military spirit that several bills were introduced during the last two years making appropriations and other provisions for military instruction in the public schools and institutions of higher learning. To avoid undue length, I quote from only one of these bills,—House Bill 13,435,—introduced by Mr. Showalter, on January 10, 1901. The title of the bill was, "To Further Promote the Study of Military Science and Tactics at Institutions of Learning."

"Section 1. That, in addition to the aid now given by law, to encourage the study of military science and tactics at institutions of learning, there shall be paid annually the sum of twenty-five dollars to each student in such institutions who shall have served faithfully and honestly for one year as a member of the military class.

"Section 2. That the total number of students coming under the provisions of this act shall not exceed at any one time thirty thousand.

"Section 4. That the sum of seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated for the current fiscal year."

Let us contemplate the significance of this bill a moment. In the first place the number of pupils — thirty thousand — is larger than the standing army of the United States in former years of peace and honor. Then, too, these students in their drills and associations will effect with the virus of the military spirit at least one hundred thousand more. Does not every one know how captivating to the average boy are bright buttons, gay uniforms, martial music, and the marching and countermarching?

It goes without saying, to any one acquainted with military departments in colleges, that many good students are lured into this work to the detriment of their scholarship, and that many inferior students make it a substitute for hard study. These latter say, "We are not preparing for the civil professions, but for war." Such bills ought to be condemned on account of their pernicious effect on education, if for no other reason.

In the second place, look at the money to be appropriated — and for what? To foster the war spirit, and to prepare men for the butchering of their fellow men. The writer knows a number of most worthy colleges, educating young men for good citizenship, for the ministry and for missionary work, and doing this on almost starvation salaries for their teachers. Take the average of several of these, and their number of students will be about three hundred, and their annual receipts less than fifteen thousand dollars each. Let this proposed military appropriation be distributed among these colleges, and it doubles the annual income of fifty of them. It is not

easy to estimate the blessings that would come to these institutions, and through them to the deserving and struggling young people in them,— fifteen thousand in number,— and through these educated young people to the intelligence, virtue, peace and prosperity of the whole country, if their incomes were doubled and properly spent. But let it not be for military education, but for that which makes a better type of everyday Christian citizenship.

We are most happy to state, on reliable authority, that none of these bills were passed. This may be due to the return of good sense to Congress, or possibly to the inattention or incapacity of the authors of the bills. But from whatever source it came, we may be thankful for the failure, and indulge the hope that by the meeting of the next session of Congress the war spirit will have so far subsided that neither these nor any other bills of like character will be brought before that body for consideration.

Let Congress, if it have money to spare by the hundreds of thousands, offer rewards of twenty-five dollars each to students in any or all institutions of learning who shall make specified attainments in the civic arts — as engineering, architecture, inventions and discoveries, etc. How many students would be benefited, and how the different departments in which they work would be enlarged and extended! Let us help peace and hinder war!

For want of time, we do not go into the incongruous, not to say unchristian, position of the schools under the control of the various churches, which are keeping up military departments, either through governmental or church aid. How an institution claiming to be Christian, established in the name of the Prince of Peace, and with the avowed purpose of inculcating and disseminating His doctrines and spirit, can maintain a military organization,— an organization for training for war,— I am not able to see. If it is to furnish physical exercise and development, the gymnasium is in every way a better means. If it is for popularity, we submit that some students can be more easily reached through the dance, the card table, and the genteel beer cellar. You are shocked and offended at a suggestion like this? Please analyze your position on the military arts, in the light of the teachings and example of Christ, and see if you are not shocked again, and much more severely.

WICHITA, KANSAS.

Christians Should be Passionate Advocates of Peace.

BY REV. CHARLES E. JEFFERSON, D.D.

In a recent sermon in the Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York, the pastor, Rev. Charles E. Jefferson, uttered, among other things, the following sentiments, which are as remarkable for their clearness of insight as for their terseness and vigor of expression:

"It is asserted constantly that war after all is a desirable episode in the life of the nation. It is a moral tonic, and stirs up its sluggish blood. It furnishes a school in which young men are developed in all the manly virtues. Without war a nation must inevitably become effeminate and cowardly and weak. Could any argument be more atrocious than that? Has Tolstoy ever said anything crazier than that? A school for the development of virtues — forsooth! Men who want to develop manliness and courage have abundant opportunities without going to war. Let them be true men in any sphere of labor, and they will be subjected to as severe a test as any which the battlefield affords. To do one's duty in the days of peace is more difficult than to do it in the days of war, for the strain is more continuous and the motives to heroic action are less conspicuous and urgent. No braver man than Jesus ever lived, and he never struck a blow. Saul of Tarsus never joined an army, but he said, 'I have fought a good fight.' If to develop manhood we must use guns every few years, why not have a local war? Why not encourage an uprising of our dangerous classes? That would give us a conflict at our doors, and we should all have a chance to develop the virile traits of manhood. It is the men who do not expect to fight themselves, or to have their own home or fortune ruined, who say with such devilish smoothness, 'War is a good thing!'

"But do not blessings follow war? Yes. They follow everything. They follow famine, pestilence, calamity, crime. No demon can put his foot down so hard upon this earth that a flower will not spring up as soon as his foot is removed. This is due to the overflowing goodness of God. He compels the wrath of man to praise him, but the wrath is not therefore justified. No matter what man may do, good will follow. Let him burn down the forests, and the land will be enriched by the ashes and ready to bring forth luxurious harvests. David committed adultery and murder, and after his sins there came a beautiful repentance, expressing itself in a heart-breaking poem which has been a solace and inspiration for three thousand years. Blessings spring up in the track of all actions, no matter what they are. The fact that blessings always follow war does not prove that war is a good thing. The Galveston flood was followed by blessings. It opened the hearts of thousands of people, and brought the North and the South closer together. Shall we pray for another tidal wave? The famine in India was followed by blessings. It softened the world's heart and brought orient and occident closer together. Shall we ask for another famine? Libby prison was followed by blessings. It bound its inmates together by a brotherhood whose bonds can never be broken — but we want no more Libby prisons. If the half of this city should be burned the catastrophe would be followed by blessings. Think of the men who would secure work. If a pestilence should lay half of our population dead blessings would follow. What sympathy in the outside world! What a mellowing in the hearts of those of us who might be spared! It would bring about a great religious revival. War brings with it great blessings! Yes. And it brings with it direful and immeasurable curses. And a sensible man will ask: Do the blessings outnumber the curses, and might not the blessings have been secured at a less frightful cost?

"Another piece of sophistry is the maxim that in order to preserve the peace we must prepare for war. This is one of those half truths more dangerous than a full-blooded lie. What we ought to say is, In order to preserve peace we must prepare for peace. Multiplying the instruments of war beyond a certain point only stirs up bad feeling, and makes it easier to come to blows.

Our fathers wanted to live at peace with our neighbors to the north, and so they prepared for peace. They abolished forts and fortifications along the northern boundary, and declared that the great lakes should be a highway for commerce, and not stations for ships of war. We prepared for peace, and peace we have had for eighty-four years. But there are men to-day who, bitten by the military mad dog, are alarmed at the imminent danger of an invasion from the north, and would have the whole Canadian border bristling with guns.

"What then is the duty of a Christian in our day? Should he not be a passionate advocate of peace? Should he not set himself against all bluster and brag, and resist with all his might the tendency to increase military expenditures? Every increase in our navy strengthens the war party in every parliament of Europe, and every increase of the military burden there drives to this country a new horde of exiles whose very life has been almost ground out of them by the military system, and crushes the millions who cannot get away down into a more pitiful and hopeless degradation.

"Mr. Bloch, the distinguished Polish Political Economist, closes his monumental work on the 'Future of War' with the assertion that the consequence of the present expenditure on preparation for war is slow destruction, a destruction that extends not simply to industry and finance, but to the framework of society and the fibre of men's souls. I wish you could all read his six great volumes, and study his awful, frightening pages of statistics. You would then understand why Tolstoy and others cry out in the agony of a great despair. It would make clear why there are socialists and anarchists and nihilists. It would explain why so many of our best informed and farthest sighted citizens fear militarism more than any other demon ever let loose from the pit. We have had one great Peace Conference; we must soon have another. At the Conference of The Hague an international tribunal was established; at the next conference plans must be adopted for scaling down the magnitude of the armaments which are souring and poisoning and damning the life of Christendom. Militarism is the running sore, the inexcusable blunder, the unspeakable crime, the unpardonable sin of the Christian world. I believe that the world would be infinitely happier and safer if all the great fighting fleets of battleships were sunk to the bottom of the sea, and there should be no navy except an international force of cruisers just sufficient to protect commerce from pirates and the possible depredations of half civilized tribes. In the great work of redemption America must lead the way. From the beginning we have been preëminently a nation of peace. That is why God has blessed us above all the nations of the earth."

Hail and Farewell!

BY JOHN ADAMS.

(U. S. Army Bill, 1901.)

Lord, dismiss us with thy blessing,
We have come to say good-bye.
In the days of our beginning
Thou to us wert the Most High.
We are older now, and wiser
Than were nations of the past;
We are planning for a record
Which old histories will outlast.
In thy Empyrean, Lord,
Love for empire still will hold;
But for rulership on earth
We have squarely chosen gold.
Holy Moses! Should the question
Which outranks, dear Lord, arise,
Constituencies must settle that,
Deciding by the count of size.

Hail Columbia! We are going
To the fields of our own sowing.
Farewell, cherished old opinion,
Farewell, heavenly dominion!
We may meet, and we may never,
In the world that's called forever.
But they're bivouacked for glory
Who beforehand write their story.
Time is speeding. Give us blessing;
For old friendship's sake, a blessing.
Once for all, our once Most High,
We are bidding Thee good-bye.

The Universal Demonstration of Women for Peace.

(The following circular letter, addressed to local councils of women throughout the United States, not having reached us in time for publication in our May number, we are glad to give it place in our present issue, as setting forth the faithfulness with which the women of peace propose to follow up the important work which they began the year of the Hague Conference.)

On May 15, 1899, a universal demonstration in behalf of peace was undertaken by an international committee of women. Through the indefatigable labors of this committee, numerous meetings were held in eighteen different countries. The chairman of the entire committee, Frau Margerete Lenore Selenka, of Munich, reported the results of this demonstration to the Peace Conference at its opening session at The Hague, which took place on May 18, of that year.

Notwithstanding the discouraging conditions of the intervening years, and the many pessimistic jeers at the Czar's Conference at The Hague, it is certainly matter for grateful consideration that as a result of that Conference the Permanent Court of International Arbitration will convene at The Hague on the second anniversary of the Conference. To celebrate this event, to show that their zeal for peace, instead of being cooled by wars and rumors of wars, is only by these events excited to greater ardor, the same international committee has undertaken another peace demonstration by women to be held on May 18, 1901. This demonstration will be simultaneous with the opening of the Court of International Arbitration.

By the authority of the international committee, including distinguished women of Germany, England, Austria, Canada, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, France, Holland, Roumania, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Russia, Servia, Sweden, Switzerland and Japan, as the representative on this committee in the United States, the undersigned hereby urges women throughout the United States to arrange for meetings, large and small, in behalf of international peace and arbitration.

Wherever local councils exist, it is recommended that

such organizations as they include should take the initiative in making arrangements for such meetings.

In 1899, with less than a month's notice, there were held in the United States, on May 15, in twenty-one different states, 163 meetings, at which there were reported to be present 73,921 women. With that precedent, the same length of time should enable the women of our country to double the number of meetings to be held on May 18, and to proportionately increase their attendance.

The taste of war which has been so bitter upon our lips should, and surely does, increase the desire of women everywhere to strengthen public sentiment for peace and to increase public faith in the possibility of ultimate arrival at a condition of universal peace, where war will no more be tolerated by enlightened nations than personal combat is now tolerated by enlightened individuals.

Let all women to whose notice this Call comes feel the appeal to be an individual one to aid in a local demonstration. Where local councils do not exist, women's clubs, temperance unions, educational associations and college leagues, are all appropriate agencies through which arrangements may be made for local demonstrations.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,
Representing the United States of America on the International Peace Committee of Women.

New Books.

THE WEDGE OF WAR. A Story of the Siege of Ladysmith. By Frances S. Hallowes. London: Eliot Stock, 62 Patermoster Row. Cloth. 170 pages.

This short story of one hundred and seventy pages is a part of the literature which has been brought into existence by the South African war. It is written not from the point of view of the Boer side or of the English, but from that of the iniquity and irrationality of war. Its purpose is to show how war breaks up the natural and normal relations of life, makes enemies out of those who otherwise would be true and trustful friends, leads peoples into the most unjust and absurd notions of one another, and leaves griefs and desolations which peace and time can never remedy.

The story is a simple and most pathetic one. A Boer commandant in the Transvaal, an honest God-fearing man, in high esteem among his people, has a daughter of remarkable womanly qualities, who is engaged to a fine, manly son of an English family who have settled in the South African Republic some twenty-five years before the war breaks out. Netherby and Christine are in love with each other in the true and high meaning of love.

When the war breaks out it drives its cruel wedge between them. Netherby, ignorant of the real nature of war, of which he afterwards becomes painfully aware, feels his English instincts aroused, volunteers in the Natal forces, and the separation with Christine is most painful to them both. Her father is called into the service of the Transvaal, leads his commandos in the earlier conflicts, and finally is chosen to make the assault on Ladysmith, in which he is killed. Netherby is with the English troops shut up in Ladysmith, assists in repelling the assault on the town, is wounded severely in the head and eyes, and found lying across the dead body of the Boer commandant. Christine becomes an army nurse, sees and feels all the bloody and horrible tragedies of the battlefields, nurses Netherby through his weeks of danger, and then is separated from him, blind from his wounds; and the story does not tell us whether they ever met again.

The work is a faithful, though not a harrowingly detailed picture of the cruelties and inhumanities of war, and especially of the way in which it separates, breaks up and blasts the hopes of what otherwise might be happy, prosperous and useful families. The "Wedge of War" is written in chaste and excellent English, is not overdone and extravagant, and is a book to put into the hands of young people, who are innocent of the real iniquitous and frightful character of war, while they are attracted by its preliminary glamour and its subsequent triumphal processions and glorifications.

EMERIC CRUCE. By Thomas Willing Balch. Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott. Cloth. 69 pages.

Mr. Balch, member of the Philadelphia Bar and author of a recent and admirable condensed account of the Alabama arbitration, has done an excellent service in giving us this monograph on the life and work of one of the pioneers of international arbitration. Eméric Crucé, who has been known by the name of Emery de la Croix, has been little noticed in recent years. In fact, Henry IV., Hugo Grotius, William Penn, the Abbé de Saint Pierre and other pioneer peace advocates of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, have received so much notice in the history of the movement that Crucé has been eclipsed and never had the attention which he deserves. Even his true name was lost until Judge Nys of Brussels, author of many valuable books on international law and kindred subjects, restored it only five years since.

In spite of this neglect, however, Crucé, born at Paris in about 1590, was the first, probably, to suggest in any definite way the substitution of international arbitration for war as the last resort for nations in the adjustment of their controversies. His remarkable book, "*Le Nouveau Cynée*," the only known copy of which is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, was published in 1623, before Grotius gave to the world his famous "*De Jure Belli ac Pacis.*" In this work he declared, in a broad Christian spirit, that it was to the advantage of humanity that the different races and nations should not injure and destroy one another by war; that the merchant is far more useful to human society than the soldier; that in order that nations may have the greatest benefits and advantages from commerce, they must have peace. International quarrels and wars he considered most absurd. He believed that, in spite of the obstacles in the way, international peace was possible, and he proposed the organization at Venice, as a practically neutral state, of an International Court, before which the powers which disagreed should appear by their ambassadors, present their cause, and have it rationally decided. Mr. Balch, in his monograph, which every student of the subject ought to have, has developed with considerable fulness Crucé's views on the various aspects of the subject, having made copious extracts from the copy of "*Le Nouveau Cynée*" at Paris. Arbitration, in both idea and practice, has a most instructive history, and we are very grateful to Mr. Balch for having given us this lucid and interesting account of one of its earliest advocates.

A Slump in Jingoism.

The *New Age* quotes the following from *The Worker*, the journal of the federated workers of Queensland, Australia, which shows that reaction against the South African war is going on throughout the whole of the British Empire:

"Nothing could be more ludicrous in last week's Federal elections than the defeat of the Jingoes. By this time they will have been taught that the people are not such fools as the fool politicians and the shrill, hysterical daily press took them to be. They will have learnt that the people as a whole have no intention of losing sight of domestic legislation, which concerns them intimately, to go hunting after the will-o'-the-wisps of Jingoism and patriotism. The return of Dawson, Stewart and M'Donald, all pronounced opponents of the war, and the rejection of men like Thynne, Hamilton and Cowley — patriots of the most rabid order — is a most cutting snub to the pretensions of the loud-mouthed Jingo rabble, whose excessive protestations of loyalty and patriotism for the last year or more have been witnessed with disgust by all honest-hearted men and women in the community. Queensland will have none of that sort as its representatives. The Labor party as a whole has opposed the war, and the Labor party has swept the polls. The people have chosen between patriotic sycophants and grovellers, and men of honest, manly and well-meaning convictions. And they have chosen wisely."

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"True workers should be fellow-workers, not rivals."

"The principle of justice, and not selfishness, should regulate exchange." — *Thomas Hughes.*

"The province of government is to increase to the utmost the pleasures and to diminish to the utmost the pain which men derive from each other."— *John Stuart Mill.*

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The following persons have recently become members of the American Peace Society: Henry Pickering, Mary G. Pickering, Franklin P. Shumway, Henry D. Lloyd, Boston; Clara A. Shrigley, Lansdowne, Pa.; Charles Richardson, Philadelphia; Oscar Lapham, Providence; Henry W. Lamb, Cambridge, Mass.; Rev. James H. McLaren, Princeton, Ill.; John F. Ebarhart, Chicago Lawn, Ill.; William H. Matchett, W. B. Wickersham, Edwin Burritt Smith, Prof. George E. Vincent, Rev. F. W. Gunsaulus, Chicago.

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ARTICLE I. This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

ART. II. This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

ART. III. Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth and goodwill towards men may become members of this Society.

ART. IV. Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

ART. V. The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

ART. VI. The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

ART. VII. All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

ART. VIII. The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee may be called by the President, the Secretary, or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well-known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

ART. IX. The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

ART. X. The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the Constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting.

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